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Classification of Timbira Tribes: Timbira and Gê-Cran

The ethnic individuality, homogeneity, and Gê affinities of the Timbira are too manifest to have been challenged by any serious observer. Opinions diverge solely as to their position within the Gê family; as to what tribes should be added to their branch of the Gê; and with respect to possible subdivisions.

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In this monograph I embrace under the caption Timbira the fifteen tribes listed below; in each case the allocation rests either on available samples of the language or on some competent investigator's statement that the speech in question is to be equated with that of a linguistically documented member of the branch. Although terminologically the classification follows the cardinal directions, the actual criterion is purely linguistic, there being a remarkably close correlation of geographical distribution with linguistic relationship. Dialectically, then, I offer the following classification:

Eastern Timbira

Northern group:
1. Timbira of Araparytina (Gurupy)
2. Krẽyé of Bacabal
3. Kukóekamekra of Bacabal

Southern group:
4. Krẽyé of Cajuapára
5. Krĩkatí
6. Pụkóbye
7. Western or Forest Gaviões (?)
8. Kre'pụ'mkateye
9. Krahõ'
10. Põrekamekra (?)
11. Kénkateye
12. Apạ'nyekra
13. Rạmkõ'kamekra
14. Čạ'kamekra

Western Timbira

15. Apinayé

In my opinion the nearest relatives of the Timbira are the several subdivisions of the Northern Kayapó; further, the Southern Kayapó and the Suyá. These four groups I should unite under the category of Northwestern Gê. I separate from them however the Gogué-Akroá, whom I class as Central Gê (a term that includes the Šerénte-Šavánte and the Šakriabá). The Jaicó are likewise distinct from the Timbira, but I am unable to assign these Gê to any definite branch within the stock. As for the Southern and Eastern Gê, this is not the appropriate place to discuss them, and I also purposely refrain from characterizing tribes as Gê on ethnographic grounds since the concept is primarily a linguistic one.

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Let me now scrutinize the way in which other authors have defined the Timbira.

Critique of Ribeiro.—The oldest chronicler of the Timbira is the previously mentioned Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. From 1800 until his assassination in 1823 he served as an officer along the Timbira frontier and, as commandant of Pastos Bons, had to go to war against these Indians four times. In his Memoria sobre as Nações Gentias (1819) he distinguishes two "dialects" in Maranhão—Timbira and Gamella. To the speech of the several Timbira "nations" he ascribes merely "aquella differença trivial que a distancia de umas e outras povoações de mesma raça lhes permitte." He devotes separate chapters to the following Timbira tribes: (1) Timbira of the lower Mearim (= Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra); (2) Sacamekrans (= Čạ'kamekra); (3) Capiekrans (= Rạmõ'kamekra); (4) Piócobgêz (= Pụkóbye); (5) Purecamekrans (= Põrekamekra); (6) Macamekrans (= Krahõ').

Incidentally, he further mentions the Canaquetgêz (= Karẽkateye?); Norocoagêz (= Nyurukwayé); Poncatgêz (= Põkateye); Ponecra (= Apạ'nyekra); Augutgêz (= ?); and the Apinagêz. As for the Bu, of whom he had heard in 1800, he conjectures that they either had never existed or had been exterminated by other tribes.

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This thorough observer of the primitive Timbira commits a single blunder in regarding his "Timbira of the lower Mearim" as of the same tribe as the Guajajára, instead of affiliating the latter with the Indians he had seen in the village of Vianna, whom he suspected, correctly enough, of kinship with the Tupinambá. At the opening of the nineteenth century the Guajajára of the middle Pindaré had probably been cut off from all contact with civilization by the warlike Gamella of Vianna and the Timbira of the lower Mearim, Grajahú, and Pindaré, so that they were known only by name. For in 1820 Pereira do Lago, too, confuses them with the Timbira in question; and Martius' statements concerning this Tupí people are extraordinarily contradictory. Now he treats them as descendants of the Tobajara, then he equates them with the Buco-Bûs, that is, Pąkóbye; and finally they turn into a horde of Mundurucú.[26]

Critique of Martius.—Unfortunately Martius' personal contacts with Timbira were limited to a brief meeting with a troop of some twenty Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra who were visiting the town of Caxias in 1819. In his masterly fashion he describes the impressive appearance and behavior of these Indians, establishing the complete similarity of both tribes as to looks, manners and speech. All his other statements about the Timbira, as well as other Maranhão tribes, were derived from personal communications by Ribeiro and by Luiz de Oliveira Figueiredo, who had for seven years served as judge in Caxias.[27]

Subsequently Martius for the first time determined the linguistic and cultural affinity of the Timbira with a considérable number of other tribes in Goyaz and the adjoining districts of Maranhão, Bahia, Piauhy, and Pará. All these he grouped together as Gêz, recognizing a Southern branch, viz. the [Southern] Cayapós, Chavantes, Cherentes, and Chicriabás; and a Northern branch, viz. Gêz proper, Crans, and Acroás. As members of the stock he further included the Masacará, Aracujá, Pontás, Geicós, and Gogués.[28]

The dichotomy rests on the ending of the tribal names, either -gêz (=ye) or -crans (=kra). In contrast to Ribeiro, Martius defines only the latter as Timbira. He further considers it likely that the Crans were the "sons"—a recent offshoot—of the "paternal" Gêz proper. For, he argues, the Crans occupy the northernmost tracts (which is the precise reverse of the contention in his other work),[29] while the Gê stock as a whole had undoubtedly moved from the south northward. He further tried to derive certain Cran "clan" names from Gêz equivalents.

It seems worth while to examine these conjectures, for which purpose we may first of all determine the meaning attached to the terms Timbira, Cran, and Gêz.

According to Martius, the term Timbira is referred by some to the custom of wearing tight armlets and footbands of bast (=embira, imbira), but he himself is inclined rather to derive the word from tembetá, tembetara, the Tupí term for a lip plug. Apart from the phonetic impossibility of deriving the term Timbira from tembetara, only a small section of the Timbira branch perforated the lower lip. Ribeiro had already separated the Gamella, who were conspicuously labret wearers, from the Timbira, with whom Martius, to be sure, erroneously classes them. On the other hand, the earplug is indeed a tribal badge of the Timbira, but (contrary to Martius' apparent assumption) the word for labret cannot be extended to these ornaments, for it is derived from tembé, lower lip. Nor will imbira, the designation

[26] Martius, Beiträge, 1:193, 286, 394.
[27] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:818–825.
[28] Martius, Beiträge, 1:257 f.
[29] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:823.

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for bast in the northern lingua geral, serve the purpose since it leaves the initial T unaccounted for.

I, too, assume a reference to the bands these people wear—not only on their arms and feet, but also below the knee, on the wrists, around the neck, the chest, and the forehead. However, the name is not derived from imbira, bast, but is a compound of tĩ, to bind, and pį́'ra, passive, with the initial "p" of the second element transmuted into "mb" because of the preceding nasal vowel. Thus, the term Timbira would correspond to "the bound ones,"—but only on the assumption that the tribal name is of Tupí origin, which cannot be treated as a priori certain.

Cran or rather kra does mean "son," but also "tribe" or "people." For example: ampó kra ma ka, Of what tribe are you? i pe Apą'nyekra, I am of the Piranha tribe. However, in the formation of tribal names this kra is commonly preceded by the particle kame, of which me- precedes only nouns referring to human beings, while I am not very clear as to the manifold uses of ka.

Gêz is the rather infelicitous Portuguese rendering of the suffix ye (Apinayé ya) in Timbira speech. It terminates only designations of kinship, social functions, and tribal names of the Timbira. In the two latter instances it is generally, though not invariably, preceded by kate. This suffix designates the person owning the thing expressed by the noun. Frequently the meaning becomes locative.

In other words, whether a tribal name ends in -kra or -ye depends solely on the meaning of the substantive used. The -ye tribes cannot be separated from the -kra tribes, nor can either group be legitimately made to descend from the other. Ribeiro remained quite free from this error. Actually, the Timbira of Cajuapára are called indiscriminately Pihą'kamekra or Krẽyé; while the Krahõ'. are subdivided into the Mąkamekra (mą, ostrich; ostrich people) and Kenpókateye (kenpo, flat rock; people of the flat rock).

Martius is equally in error in deriving certain kra names from ye equivalents. The names Piocabgêz and Piocamecrans are unrelated: the former is derived from pųkób, yam (*Dioscorea* sp.), the latter from pihą', weaverbird (*Cassicus* sp.). Similarly, the term Poncatagêz is traceable to põ (steppe), Ponicrans to apą'n (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]). The illegitimacy of Martius' criteria for assuming a Bûs subdivision has been set forth elsewhere.[18]

Finally, the settlers' division of the branch into Timbira da Matta, Timbira de Canella fina, and Timbira de Bocca furada obviously cannot be taken seriously for ethnological purposes. Martius himself, in volume 1 of his Beiträge, puts the Aponegicrans (= Apą'nyekra) into the first of these groups, while in his second volume they figure as Timbira de Canella fina. Of the contemporary Gaviões, one group lives in the Amazon forests, the other on the steppe.

The discovery of the Gê stock in a wider sense is exclusively Martius' merit since he owed nothing to any predecessor. But his subdivision into Gêz proper, Crans, and Bûs rests on unacceptable principles.

Critique of Von den Steinen and Ehrenreich.—In 1886 Karl von den Steinen studied Gê languages, which he grouped together with the Botocudo and Goytacá to form the Tapuya family. In this examination he considered only tribes for which linguistic material was then available. His subgroup of Western and Northern Gê embraces the Suyá, Apinayé, Apą'nyekra, the [Southern] Kayapó, and the Krahõ'. He further adds the Karayá, an allocation unconfirmed by any of his successors. His Central Gê comprise the Šavánte, Šerénte, Šakriaba, and Akroá; he does not so much as mention the Jaicó. Except for the allocation of the Karayá, Von den Stei-

[18] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 5 f.

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nen's grouping of the two western subdivisions of the Gê stock forms an excellent basis for further elaboration."

Ehrenreich, who subsequently himself collected better material from the Karayá, excluded them from the Gê stock and provided the following scheme for the Western group."

Akroá
  Akroá
  Jeiko
  Gogues
Kayapó or Bu
  Southern Kayapó
  Northern Kayapó
    Ušikrin
    Kradaho
    Gaviões or Karakati
Northern Kayapó (continued)
    Apinayé
    Karaho
    Timbira or Gamella
Western Kayapó
  Suya
Akuã
    Chavantes
    Cherentes
    Chicriaba

Here I must make the comment that the Akroá (except for the Jaicó) are linguistically much closer to the Akwẽ than to the Kayapó. Specifically, Bu as a tribal name and synonym for Kayapó (Ehrenreich once refers to the Kayabus) is inadmissible, while Timbira and Gamella represent two (or three) distinct peoples. Apart from this, my own Northwestern Gê group is merely an amplification of Ehrenreich's Kayapó.

Critique of Rivet.—In 1925 Rivet published a new classification of the Gê." With reference to the Northwestern and Central branches, his scheme is as follows:

Le septentrionaux:
(1) Timbira de forêt
  Timbira du haut Gurupy
  Gamella
  Sakamekran
  Pinkobie
  Augutie
  Kranie
  Paikoie
(2) Timbira de savanne
  Temembu (Bukobu, Manaiá, Aponegikran)
  Kapiekran
  Makamekran (Karaõu, Krahô)
  Tamembo
  Karahú (Karaká)
  Kannakaie (Kannakatie)
  Purekamekran
  Ponkatie
  Norokoaie

Le centraux:
(1) Kayapó
  Kayapó
  Mãkubenkokré
  Gradahó
  Kurupite (Purukaru)
  Gorotiré
  Karaho
  Ušikring
  Suyá
  Apinaie
  Gaviões (Krikataie, Karakati)
(2) Šavánte Opaié (Arae)
  Šerénte
  Šikriabá
  Želkó
  Akroá
  Gogue

As against Von den Steinen's and Ehrenreich's groupings, which rested only on reliable material, this later classification marks an unmistakable retrogression. The author has not merely included a large number of tribes for which historical documentation is hardly extant and linguistic evidence wholly wanting, but—strangely enough, in a linguistic classification—he has segregated his Timbira according to phyto-geographical principles. In coping with the chaos of synonyms Rivet has tried to simplify in a single case, infelicitously identifying the Temembu (prob-

[19] Von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, 315 f.
[20] Ehrenreich, Die Einteilung.
[21] Les langues du monde.

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ably to be equated with the Krahõ') with the Bucobu, Aponegikran, and Manažó. A little farther on he cites these Temembu again as Tamembó; the Bucubu have appeared twice before as Piokobzé and Paikozé; and the Manazó, a Tupí tribe, figure twice previously as Manažé and Amanajó. The Krahõ', too, appear three times, twice among the Northern and once among the Central Gê. Rivet has, indeed, dropped the division into Gês, Crans, and Bus; but by way of compensation he separates the Apinayé, Krîkatí, and Krahõ' from the other Timbira and places them with the Kayapó among the Central Gê. For his Šavánte Opaié, who are not a Gê people at all, one must substitute Šavánte-Akwẽ.

Critique of W. Schmidt and Snethlage.—In 1926 Wilhelm Schmidt restored order by uniting the Kayapó and Akuã languages as Northern and Western Gê groups.[28] Under the head of Cayapó-Sprachen he lists Suyá, Cayapó, Carahó, Apinagés, Aponegicran, Capiecran, Timbira, Canela, and Crengez; as Akuã-Sprachen, he lists Chavante, Cherente, Chacriabá, Geico, and Acroá-Mirim. Here the only doubtful allocation is at most that of the Geicó.

The last treatise on the Timbira is Snethlage's.[29] First among Martius' successors she reverts to the designation Cran (Krãn), making it comprise the Timbira-Gaviões, Kanella, Kraõ, Apinayé, Kayapó, and Suyá. The segregation of the Krãn from among the great conglomerate of Gê peoples (*Das Herausheben der Krãn aus dem grossen Konglomerat der Gê [Že]völker*) is in his opinion the outstanding result of his researches. That this subdivision already appears in Ehrenreich's and Schmidt's schemes, seems to have eluded him.

Partly because of his reliance on Rivet, the section on History and Statistics[30] surveying the several tribes contains a series of minor inaccuracies. I venture to correct these in the order of their occurrence.

1. I am unable to discover any source suggesting that the [Southern] Kayapó who had been overcome with Bororó assistance were split into two sections that were pushed northward and southward, respectively. Actually the Southern Kayapó escaped toward the southwest; the Northern Kayapó, as Ehrenreich already stressed and as a glance at the word lists demonstrates, by no means represent the same tribe, but are clearly distinct, even though closely related.

2. "Möglichkeit besteht, dass einige Stämme, die Kaingang und Cherente Akwé ... auf diese oder ähnliche Weise (?Abdrängung durch die Conquista?) nach Süden gekommen sind." This sentence is not clear to me. So far as I know, the Šerénte never got away from their ancient habitat; and their traditions point toward the southeast. The Kaingang, too, rather seem to have pushed northward.

3. As for the Krahõ' tribe assigned by Sampaio to the northwest corner of the state of Bahia, it never existed. His informant, whom I knew personally, was a true Apinayé, who deliberately deceived Sampaio and others. I shall revert to this case.

The names Pepuxi, Puxiti, Petuxi, and Capepuxi (Kupẽpųčẽ') are evidently more or less corrupted forms of Pųčẽti, the Timbira word for the Akwẽ, hence without reference to the Krahõ', one of whose subdivisions is represented by the Mąkamekra. Purekamekran (Põrekamekra) and Noroquagé (Nyurukwayé) were tribes distinct from the Krahõ', and originally not even their neighbors. Afotigé and Otogé are synonyms for the Apinayé. It is unintelligible why part of the Krahõ' should be regarded as "possibly identical with the Caracati"; the two tribes

[28] Schmidt, Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde, 238.
[29] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind.
[30] *Ibid.*, 139–142.

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In 1818–19 they were roving between the lower Mearim and the Grajahú, remained wholly inaccessible, and by their incursions greatly damaged the property of settlers as far as Cantanhede, down the Itapicurú. Southward they roamed almost to the vicinity of the present Barra do Corda in order to visit the great arrow-reed stands at the Caxoeira da Canna braba of the Mearim, where they occasionally had hostile encounters with the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Čą'kamekra.

619 175 161

Since 1850, but especially since 1853,[*] the Krẽyé and Pobzé began to present themselves peaceably in considerable numbers before the settlers at Bacabal on the Mearim, so that the government had the colony Leopoldina established for them. Allegedly in that year it held 500 men fit to bear arms, an obvious exaggeration, for the total Indian population to be settled in the two colonies of Carú (Guajajára) and Leopoldina was estimated at only 2000. As early as 1855 a fever epidemic afflicted the colony, carrying off many and driving others to flee back to the woods. In Marques' time, which so far as his records go does not extend later than 1862, a count in Leopoldina still yielded 336 Indians: 158 "Timbira" (= Kukóekamekra); 87 Cremzés (= Krẽyé); and 91 Pobzé. This is the last mention I can find of the Pobzé.

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In 1913 I met one of these Krẽyé in São Luiz and secured from him a word list and several traditional stories. The census of 1919 mentions two settlements: Cajueiro with 43 Crangés (= Krẽyé); and Santo Antonio with 30 Timbira (= Kukóekamekra). They are still situated in close proximity to each other in the forest region west of Bacabal between the Mearim and Grajahú, nearer to the latter. The Pobzé seem to be wholly extinct.

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The word Krẽyé is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot); while Kukóekamekra is traceable to kukóe (monkey [*Cebus* sp.]). The speech of the two minute tribal remnants is said to present no differences.

4. The Krẽyé of Cajuapára

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The Krẽyé of Cajuapára, nowadays simply known as Timbira among Neobrazilians, are not by any means a band of seceders from the Bacabal tribe of that name, but a quite distinct Timbira tribe that merely happens to share the same designation. This separateness extends even to speech: while the Bacabal dialect greatly resembles that of the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and linguistically closest to the Kre' pų'mkateye and Pųkóbye. The Cajuapára call themselves Krẽyé, but are known to neighboring tribes as Pihą'kamekra (pihą', weaverbird [*Cassicus* sp.]), which Neobrazilians have transmuted into Piocamecrans, Pivócamecras, and Pivocas.[**] The Amaneyé, of the Tupí linguistic stock, also speak of them as Pihó.

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Their earlier habitat was on the Embira Branca, a sizable brook that empties into the Tocantins a little below Imperatriz.

[161]

In 1848 the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio took over the missionary work in the military colony of Santa Thereza (now Imperatriz), which had been recently founded by the authorities of Pará. At that time there were two Gragé Indian aldeas near by, one a quarter of a mile from the post and the other a mile beyond the woods, with a joint population of over 200.[***]

In 1851 the missionary moved to São João do Araguaya, but since his efforts

[*] Marques, Apontamentos, "Colonisação." Sotero dos Reis, Machado, 619.

[**] Casal, Chorographia, 1:293. Marques, Apontamentos, "Carolina." Moura, De Belém a S. João, 281. This last author erroneously locates the tribe on the Rio do Somno.

[***] Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Thereza."

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north course into an east-west direction, that is, east of Imperatriz, in the interior. There they were already dwelling in 1844, when Castelnau noted them as dangerous. He was told that the Gaviões imperiled travel on the right bank of the Tocantins from São João do Araguaya to Bôa Vista, and the Caracati from this point on upstream.[a] This probably allots too extensive a range to the Gaviões.

After the establishment of the military colony of Santa Thereza in 1848 the tribe seems to have had brief intercourse with the missionary stationed there, Brother Manoel Procopio.[b] The report for 1849 designates these Indians as "ponco familiarizados" (little accustomed to intercourse); and in 1852 Brother Procopio is credited with a vain attempt to make the Caracatigés and Gavioēs settle down at Campo do Frade, north of Imperatriz. Toward the end of 1853 there are said to

[161] have come down to Santa Thereza 300 Indians, and in 1854 the number of Caracatis there is given as 302.[c] But in the following year the mission was already in complete decadence,[d] in consequence whereof it disappears from later official reports. In the subsequent years we hear at most about Gaviões, a term that may have embraced Pụkóbye *and* Krīkatí.

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Strangely enough, Ehrenreich regards the Gaviões *or* Carakati as directly affiliated with the Northern Kayapó and seems to assume erroneously that they lived mainly to the west of the Tocantins, for he declares that they occasionally crossed the Tocantins below the Tacayunas confluence over to the right (east) bank. On his map the Gaviões *or* Carakati are placed on both sides of the Tocantins.[e]

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The census of 1919 lists two Caracaty villages, Engenho Velho with 69 and Canto da Aldea with 204 inhabitants. A third settlement that was still in existence then, at Caldeirão, is not mentioned or possibly is included under Canto da Aldea. But when I visited the tribe in the following year, I found only a remnant of 80 souls at Canto da Aldea, at the extreme source of the Pindaré. Here these Indians were living impoverished and in a very sad plight from the pressure of near-by fazendeiros, who had usurped the whole tribal domain, leaving to the aborigines the choice between abandonment of their last settlement and being massacred. Even in the previous year, owing to a conflict with the wealthiest and greediest fazendeiro,

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one Salomão Barros, the villagers of the two other aldeas had scattered and retreated to the Pụkóbye. Only the arrival from Barra do Corda of the Indian agent, Marcellino Miranda, had prevented the general massacre plotted by the fazendeiros. At that time he had vainly tried to transfer the Krīkatí from Canto da Aldea to some secure place of refuge, but they obstinately insisted on their rights, demanding the exodus of the fazendeiros if these objected to the proximity of the Indians.

In 1930 the situation came to a head. Pressed by the fazendeiros, the president of Maranhão, Magalhães de Almeida, informed the agent that unless they consented to depart he would have the Krīkatí forcibly removed by the constabulary. Once more the agent tried to transfer them to the Rio Ourives near Barra do Corda, but this merely led to a breaking up of this last independent remnant of the tribe. Having vainly begged the Apinayé and the Apą'nyekra to harbor them, the Krīkatí scattered in all directions. I do not know where the survivors may be hidden nowadays, but probably they have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

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The Krīkatí dialect completely coincides with that of the Pụkóbye.

[a] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:11, 17, 18.
[b] J. F. Coelho, Falla, 76. Aguiar, Relatorio, 53. J. J. Cunha, Falla, 1852, 82.
[c] Rego Barros, Falla, Annexo, 56.
[d] Frias Vasconcellos, 59.
[e] Ehrenreich, Beiträge, 149; *idem.*, Die Einteilung und Verbreitung.

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constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Fríč's map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Woraru.

I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytúa, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehí.[a] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[a] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pụkóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pụkóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.
[a] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

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is impracticable. During six trips along the entire range of their territory on the Tocantins I have never seen a single member of the tribe.

8. The Kre'pṵ'mkateye

This name I have never been able to grasp fully either as to its meaning or its phonetics. From the lips of the Ramkõ'kamekra I recorded it as in the heading of this section; *in situ* I heard it as Krẽ' pṵ'mkateye or Kreapṵ'mkateye. Which is correct, I cannot decide because the composition of the word is obscure. Formally it is a locative designating, according to the Indians themselves, a body of water known to Neobrazilians as Lago Comprido (Long Lake). In any event it is not a literal translation of the Neobrazilian term, but possibly the lake is actually called kre' pṵ'm (or similarly) in the Indian tongue. Possibly the Ramkõ'kamekra interpretation holds, viz. that the name denotes a locality where ostriches lay (pum) eggs (kre).

The designation must be relatively recent, for in the literature it is wholly lacking, and the Neobrazilians nowadays merely refer to this tribe as Timbira. Possibly they are descendants of the old Caracategé (= Cannacategé? = Karẽkateye?), whose name persists in the name of a district on the east bank of the Grajahú, just upstream from the present habitat of the Kre' pṵ'mkateye. In 1851 these Caracategé are certainly still mentioned as living on the Grajahú.[a] Tradition has it that the first Neobrazilians descending the Grajahú (1811) were attacked by Timbira in the immediate vicinity of this locality, since known as Desordem.

Wells briefly mentions the tribe several times, reporting the attempt made in 1863 by the chief Curaxé to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Neobrazilians.[b] On his map the Itambeiras are entered on the left Grajahú bank, between Marajar (= Marajá) and Caracatigy (Caracategé).

During the Guajajára uprising of 1901 these Timbira alone of all the Grajahú residents not only failed to flee from the rebels, but at the instigation of the local authorities attacked the Guajajára with a handful of warriors, cruelly destroying two populous villages. Their old squinting chief, Major Clementino, told me in 1929 how he had personally slain the Guajajára leader.

The 1919 census of the Serviço do Protecção aos Indios sets the number of Kre' pṵ'mkateye of Terra Nova, just below the fazenda Independencia, at only 47; this, like many other figures of that census, seems too low. In 1924 Snethlage visited the tribe in their village, then just above Independencia, where they were living with several Guajajára; he estimated the villagers at from 150 to 200.

In 1929 I spent six days with this people in their settlement at Gamelleira do Rumo, ten kilometers farther downstream. They were living in dependence on the proprietor of the fazenda Independencia, and though really not ill-treated they were evidently in a state of decline. At least on the Grajahú, even on the site of their hamlet, they could no longer call a span of land their own.

Of their dialect, which differs quite inconsiderably from that of the Krĩkati and Pṵkóbye, I recorded two hundred and sixty-nine words on that occasion.

9. The Krahõ'

This name signifies "hair of the paca" (*Coelogenys paca*); it might just as well be interpreted as "burity leaf," but the Indians expressly told me that the term bore the former meaning. It is the tribal name in their own language, as well as that in vogue among other Timbira and Neobrazilians.

[a] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." [b] Wells, Exploring, 2:284, 285, 277–278.

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chief was captured and the rest were abused to such an extent that part of them joined the Krahõ′, while the remainder despondently sought safety in flight.

The second village of the Põrekamekra, as well as that of the equally peaceable "Poncatagê" (Põkateye, those of the steppe; an unidentifiable tribe), was visited by the bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara and the allied Krahõ′. The Indians had fled, but persuaded by promises made to them through Cocrit, 364 of them consented to appear before the bandeira, only to be thrown into fetters amid horrible murders and other deeds of violence. Some were still able to flee, but 164 were captured, 130 of them—the bandeira leader's share—being branded with redhot irons and sold to Pará. Of this occurrence on July 24, 1815, Ribeiro, according to his express statement, was an eyewitness.

It is thus incomprehensible that four years later Pohl should have found 600 to 700 Põrekamekra peaceably residing in Cocal. Possibly he merely saw another group erroneously identified by Carvalho as Põrekamekra. Cunha Mattos, who mentions Cocal as late as 1824, described its residents as Cherente (?).[a]

The tribal name is not derived from "pure," burity leafstalk, as Ribeiro's orthography would suggest, but according to what the Krahõ′ explicitly told me, from põre, a small falcon known to the Neobrazilians as caboré.

Pohl mentions a vocabulary recorded by him and refers readers to his Appendix, but I cannot find it in the two copies of his work accessible to me. Thus, I am acquainted with only the thirty words given by Martius here and there for purposes of comparison.[b]

Nevertheless, it is clear that, as with the neighboring Pụkóbye and Krahõ′, the speech represents the southeastern dialect of Timbira. They differed to their advantage in their amicable, peaceable character, stressed by both Ribeiro and Pohl, which reminds one of their northwestern neighbors, the Apinayé.

11–13. The Canella

Neobrazilians unite the Kénkateye, Apą′nyekra and Rąmkõ′kamekra under the single head of Canellas. These tribes themselves, however, lack a common name for the three groups and recognize no closer affinity among themselves than between any of the three and the Krahõ′ or the Čą′kamekra.

In the sertão no other tribes have ever been connected with that appellation. Martius, too, classes as Canellas finas only the Corume- and Capie-Crans (= Rąmkõ′-kamekra) and the Aponegi-Crans (= Apą′nyekra); possibly the Kénkateye were not yet in existence in his day.[c] On the other hand, Snethlage defines the concept quite differently, making it comprise: (a) Aponegikrãn = Temembó = Mannajo; (b) Kapiekrãn; (c) Sacamekrãn = Gamellas de Codo; (d) Korumekrãn; (e) Acobu; (f) Remkókamekrãn; (g) Aponyekrãn; (h) Kénkateye.[d]

This list evokes the following comments:

The Aponegikrãn are, indeed, identical with Aponyekrãn, or rather Apą′nyekra, but not with the Temembó and, still less, with the Mannajo (= Amanayé). Kapiekrãn, Korumekrãn, and Remkókamekran are merely three distinct names for one tribe, the Canella of Ponto. The Sacamekrãn were quite distinct from the Gamella of Codó, in fact, were their bitter enemies. On the other hand, these Gamella, who are not Timbira at all, are identical with the Acobu (= Hakąpó).

In Les Capiekrans, Father Etienne Ignace gives misleading statements about the habitat of the Canella whose coastal origin he "proves" by their allegedly excessive

[a] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:386.
[b] Martius, Beiträge, vol. 2.
[c] *Ibid.*, 1:285.
[d] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 141.

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sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, fusing with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

15. Extinct Tribes

Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

Karēkateye.—Their name is derived from karē (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Cannaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.[206] In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara with Krahõ' allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his Krahõ' as victims of the Canacategé.[207]

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pų'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).[208] In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussaral on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajára.

These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pų'mkateye, but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karēkateye of Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamhą'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karēkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karēkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

The Krõ'rekamekra.—The remnants of this people were adopted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been a great singer. In the tamhą'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães[209] lists the Crurê-Cameeran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcantara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10'; the tribe is said to be hostile to the Krahõ'. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martius[210] and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorécamecrans.

Krõre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

[206] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83; Roteiro, 46.
[207] Almeida, Carolina, 52.
[208] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios."
[209] Almeida, Carolina, 55.
[210] Martius, Beiträge, 2:864. Cazal, Chorographia, 2:293. Pohl, Reise, 2:211.

[1 i.e. the Cą'Kamedra --- Analyst.]

/51 cont./

301 pierced and systematically enlarged holes of the ear lobes (3).
304 (Fig. 2, /see p. 15/, 15.)

[171] 3. Compare with this the similarly shaped ear-rolls observed by Karl von den Steinen among the Suyá of the Xingu, made like a tapeline out of the wide leaf-strips of the [113] bacaba palm, with a diameter of 7 centimeters, leaf width 1.5 centimeters. See Durch Zentralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886, p. 207.

301 No. 14. Ear ornament, as before, but of somewhat smaller dimensions. With a circumference of 21 centimeters, the thickness of the ring-shaped ear-disks is 2 centimeters, their diameter 6 centimeters. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 1.)

[286] No. 15. Woven upper-arm ornament (ipačẽ) with woolen tassels. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 6.)

482 No. 16. Carrying baskets with a square base and a forehead-
285 tumpline plaited out of buriti fibers (4). (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 13.)

[171] 4. An exactly analogous basket model is found among the Kayapó of the Araguaia.

126 /52/The following brief word-list was recorded directly from
174 the Canella Indians and permits one, by comparing it with the
[197] corresponding words of Ehrenreich's Gradahõ vocabulary (1) and of
[114]

[113] 1. See Ehrenreich, Materialen zur Sprachenkunde /Linguistic Materials/.

the Mẽkubengokrä word-list recorded by me, to recognize a very close linguistic relationship with the Kayapó tribes of the Araguaia, whose separation from the main body of the Gẽ nation on the other side of the Tocantins may well have taken place in not too far distant times.

/52 cont./

197 distant times. According to the tribal tradition of the
174 Mẽkubengokrä-Kayapó their original homeland was on the Rio
Manoel Alves Grande, a tributary of the Tocantins, the present
[194] habitat of the Kra-õ (Carahõ). Phonetically the occurrence of
the pure "l" in the Canella dialect, whereas it is missing among
the Kayapó of the Araguaia, is interesting.